BOMBAY GAZETTE

VOLUME XXV.] WEDNESDAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1814. [NUMBER 1274.

G. HIGGS.

BEGS leave to inform the Public that he has received a few promising Arab Colts from Bussorah by the Ship Fazel Karim.

Bombay, 2d November, 1814.

William Wesencraft.

RESPECTFULLY begs leave to inform the Public that he has taken the PREMISES for the purpose of carrying on the undermentioned TRADE in the neatest manner and on the most moderate terms.

Engraving,
Plumbing and Glazing,
Painting Houses, Carriages, Palanquins;
Armorial Bearings, and Transparencies,
Gilding on Glass and Wood,
Looking Glass Plating,
Decorating Apartments for Public Occasions, Balls, &c.

Bombay Theatre, the 2d November, 1814.

BOMBAY GAZETTE.

Wednesday, October 2d 1814.

GENERAL ORDERS.

By the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council.

Bombay, Castle, 26th October 1814.

The Right Honourable the Governor in Council, is pleased to appoint Lieutenant Wilson, of the 2d Battalion 1st Regiment Native Infantry, to command the Escort of the Resident, at Baroda, until further orders.

By Order of the Right Hon'ble the Governor in Council.

J. FARISH, Sec. to Govt.

NAUTICAL CHRONICLE, AND NAVAL REPORT.

BOMBAY.

ARRIVED.—October 29th, Ship Fazel Kurrim, Captain George Hearder, from Bussorah.

Ditto 30th, Portuguese Ship St. Joze Americano, Captain Joaõ Gomes Duarte, from Lisbon.

Ditto 31st, the H. C. Cruizer Vestal, Lieutenant J. Phillips, from Bancoot,

SAILED.—26th, Ship Lord Minto, Captain Adam Turner, to Batavia.

Ditto 29th, the Hon'ble Company's Cruizer Vestal, Lieutenant J. Phillips, to Bancoot.

"This night Launched from the Stocks His Majesty's New Brig Victor."

BOMBAY,

MARRIAGE.—By the Reverend Nicholas Wade, Mr. William Wesencraft, to Mrs. Charlotte Stott.

BIRTH.—Yesterday morning, the Lady of James Inverarity Esq. of a Son.

DEATH.—Yesterday, James Borthwick, Esq.

The Gazette.

BOMBAY, NOVEMBER 2, 1814.

WE are not without considerable hopes of being able to announce, in our paper of to day, the safe arrival of the outward bound Ships, destined for this Port; but we lament to say our expectations in that respect have been completely disappointed.

In the absence of that news which they undoubtedly will bring, we have endeavoured to fill our columns with all the novelty we could. The debate, upon the corn laws, having given rise to a most interesting discussion in the House of Commons, we have been anxious to finish it before other, more recent, matter should reach us, we have therefore used every effort to complete it in our present number.

On the 6th of May the Duke of Berry accompanied the Duke of Wellington to the Opera, in Paris; at the very moment of entering the house the performers were singing in full chorus. "*Buvons à la Santé de ce brave Seigneur.*" The audience immediately applied the words to the noble Duke and their applause was unbounded. On retiring he was conducted to his carriage amidst general acclamation.

The Duke of Cambridge had on the 19th arrived at the Hague in his way to England.

We perceive that the King of France with the view of giving to the Princes of his blood a mark of his attachment, and to the armies a proof of his satisfaction, had by a decree dated the 15th of May, ordered that *Monsieur* should resume the title of Colonel General of the Swiss. That the Prince of *Condé* should also resume that of Colonel General of the infantry of the line. That the Duke of *Angoulême* should be invested with that of Colonel General of the Cuirassiers and Dragoons. That the Duke of *Berry* should take the title of Colonel General of the light horse and lancers. The Duke of *Orleans* that of Colonel General of Hussars, and the Duke of *Bourbon* that of Colonel General of light infantry. That those Generals whom the preceding Government had appointed to the functions of Colonel Generals should take the title of first inspector General of their respective corps, under the orders of those Princes; he had thereby named Colonel General, and that they should be entitled to the same pay, honours and privileges which they, at that moment enjoyed.

The Council of War at Paris had been occupied without intermission in reorganizing the army which was to be put upon a peace establishment and reduced to 220,000 men. It was said that the future strength of the Artillery had been already determined and that that corps was to consist of 8 Regiments of foot and six of horse.

The Marine peace establishment of the French it is also said will consist only of 13 sail of the line—21 Frigates and 27 Corvettes, with a proportionate number of smaller vessels.

We are at a loss to conceive from whence the report of the Empress *Josephine's* death could have originated, since in addition to what we have already published with regard to her, we find by accounts from Paris, dated the 13th of May, that the Emperor of Russia had been passing some days at the Chateau of *St. Leu*. in the vicinity of *Montmorenci*, and that that he had been dining with Eugene Beauharnois, his mother & sister.

It is stated in a communication from Basle, dated the 21st May, that the Austrians were in full march towards home. From the 18th a division consisting of about 8000 men had daily passed the Rhine below *Huningue*, and halted in the environs of *Lorrach*. Their respective orders of march were so to be arranged that each column would, one month after having passed the Rhine, arrive at Vienna, where their ulterior destination would be made known to them.

The Duke of Angoulême had been appointed Lord High Admiral of France.

General Chateaux—Son-in-law of Marshal Victor had died at Paris, in consequence of the wounds he had received at the battle of Montereau.

A report was generally circulated throughout Italy that His Holiness the Pope would repair shortly to France for the purpose of assisting at the coronation of Louis the XVIII.

The Prince *Corsini* and the Count of *Spada* had sent in their resignation as Senators.

The Gothenbourgh Mail which reached London on the 13th of May, would lead us to suppose that the greater part of the Swedish force which was returning from France and the low countries would renew the invasion of Holstein, & that the Russian force under General Benningsen would support that movement. That a Swedish division consisting of 7000 men would immediately embark from Holland for the purpose of making a descent either on Denmark or Norway. That General Officers in the service of Russia, Prussia, Sweden, and England were on their route to Christiana, for the purpose of ascertaining without delay the *ultimatum* of the Danish Prince in order that the Allies might immediately take some definitive step.

It would appear that much mischief had been done at *Namur* by the explosion of a powder magazine.—Sixteen houses had been entirely destroyed and the Cathedral, Seminary and various houses considerably damaged.

Maestricht was partly evacuated by the French on the 4th and entirely on the 5th May, and the Helder entirely so on the latter day. Middleburg was occupied on the 2d by the Chasseurs d'Orange, under the orders of General Sweerts, and Bergen-op-zoom was given up to the Dutch troops on the 3d.

CALCUTTA.

Current Value of Government Securities.

BUY. Rs. As.	FRIDAY, OCT. 7, 1814.	SELL. Rs. As.
13 0	New Six per Cent. Loan Disc.	13 0

FRENCH PAPERS.

OFFICIAL NEWS FROM THE ARMY OF ITALY.

VIENNA, MAY 4.

We have received from Field Marshal Bellegarde the official news, that by a second Military Convention, concluded on the 23d April with the Viceroy of Italy, besides the fortresses of Osopo, Palma-nuovo, Legnago, and Venice, which our troops occupied on the 20th, the fortress of Peschiera shall be given up on the 25th April, and Mantua on the 1st May. All the other strong places in the kingdom of Italy, will be remitted immediately to the Austrian troops. Milan, and all the Kingdom of Italy, will be occupied by the Austrian army in the name of the Allied Powers. The Italian troops will remain in the present quarters, but under the orders of Count de Bellegarde.

ZURICH, MAY 4.

In the sitting of the 3d of May, the Diet heard several notes from foreign Ministers, read:—1st, relating to the occupation of the countries formerly subject to the Grisons—2d, that of the Munsterthal, which belonged to the Bishopric of Basle—3d, the Communal Assembly, which was to be held on the 3d in the Levantine Valley, which the Ministers do not approve of—4th, the demolition of the fortress of Hunenguen, which they promise to recommend in the most pressing manner to their Sovereign. Next the Diet heard a report upon the four military frontiers of Switzerland—on the side of Germany, France, Italy, and Savoy. This report has for its object to prove that Switzerland, for the maintenance of her neutrality, ought not only to recover her ancient possessions, but acquire fresh ones; among others, the part of the Bishopric of Basle on this side the Jura, Neuschatel, the Bailiwick of Gex. On the side of Savoy, Geneva, and the left bank of the Lake of Geneva On the side of Italy, the Valais, the Valley of Formezzen, the district between the Trosa and the Lake Maggiore, the ancient fort of Fuentes. The report was referred to a Committee.

WAR DEPARTMENT.—ORDER OF THE DAY.

"Paris, May 15, 1814.

His Majesty has just determined on the organization of his army, After having heard the Council of War, he has issued an ordonance of the most favourable nature possible, for establishing the new Military Constitution; and he has less consulted the finances of the state, than his justice, in rewarding honourable services, and his affection for his brave troops.

"Inspectors-General, furnished with instructions from the Ministers of War, will depart to form the amalgamation of all the corps. It is important that all Officers who have rights to claim or rewards to solicit, should appear under their respective banners: the absence of these Officers, during the operation, will lead to serious and irreparable inconveniences.

"It is consequently necessary, that every military Officer, of whatever rank, should appear without delay, with the corps to which he belongs, in order to lay the state of his services before the Inspectors-General, and to obtain either his continuation in active service, the preservation of his full appointments, the enjoyment of half-pay at home until replaced; or finally to be permitted to retire in consequence of the rights he may have acquired by new services since the month of January, 1814.

"Those Officers who do not belong to any corps, those of the staff without appointments, and those who wish to be placed in regiments, shall present themselves according to their choice in the chief places of the division or departments in which there are Inspectors-General, to make representations of their services; those who prefer half-pay may retire to their homes.

"Every officer who, without express permission, shall remain at Paris eight days after the publication of the present order, shall be held to have renounced his right.

"The soldiers who do not belong to the corps of the garrison of Paris, shall be immediately marched, under the immediate direction of the Commander of the place, to their respective corps or to one of the nearest corps, in order to be incorporated therewith.

"The Generals commanding the military divisions shall enforce the strictest execution of this order, and shall render account thereof to the Minister for the War Department.

"General Count DUPONT.

"Minister Secretary of State for the War Department.

Extract from the Paris Papers dated the 24th of May 1814.

The great work of the peace is far advanced, if not wholly finished. Although the precise stipulations of the treaty are not known, it is, however, certain that the bases are honourable for the King, glorious to France, and fixed in such a manner as to insure that repose which Europe stands so much in need of. Its first trait, and no doubt, its principal advantage, is, that it does not contain any of those fermenting principles of war which all the treaties concluded by France for these last twenty years have. The treaties of Luneville, and of Amiens were no better than truces; and those of Vienna, Presbourg and Tilsit, all brought about by violence, carried in themselves the causes of dissolution which afterwards led to the violation of them. The Peace of 1814 leaves nothing for discussion and consequently no pretence for going to war with any one. In restoring to us all our ancient France, (that France which has established the truest title to our prosperity and to our glory,) it replaces us in that state of preponderance, which appertains to our physical and moral situation. Becoming all of a sudden tranquil spectators of the discussions of the interests which still divide other powers, we will not interfere in their differences but as mediators; and our beloved sovereign to whom we owe our reconciliation with Europe will assume the character of pacificator. Behold the result of this treaty which is to be concluded; result unexpected, if we consider the deplorable situation which France had been reduced to, the hatred which had been excited against her, and the spoliations which its government had exercised. No stipulations of this peace impose on us tributes or indemnities; our monuments of arts remain untouched, and our museum will continue to be the museum of Europe. France, upon the whole, will not undergo the ignominious condition imposed on Buonaparte, to which he twice consented, namely, to deliver up into the hands of the Allies three strong Fortresses, of the interior, as guarantees of the execution of the treaty. In a word, France by Peace, is restored to the exercise of all its powers, to the resources of its soil, and of its industry, and certainly she will be more powerful and more happy than she has been for these last twenty years; nothing but our own inconstancy can disturb the prospect of an happy futurity.

English Extracts.

Always taking under their protection the *ill used, oppressed* American Government, the Party are quite indignant that we should think of holding a high tone, or demanding high terms of America. They depict us as refusing to listen to terms of pacification, and of desiring revenge. They represent the language of the Ministerialists to be as follows:—"Do not let us sit down content with obtaining all that we went to war for—let us have indemnity for the expenses of the war—let us drive them a hundred miles from the lakes—let us drive them from Louisiana—from Florida—and never again permit them to trespass on the Banks of Newfoundland!" Now that we are strong, let us not trouble our heads about their stupid perversions of the law of nations—it would be the height of folly to sheath the sword, so long as a faction, which is so steeped in hatred of our name, retains the reins of power!"—Softly, Messieurs of the Opposition.—"Pray, Goodies, moderate the rancour of your tongue." Did we begin the war as you would insinuate? Was not the war entered upon by America and at what a time? Just at the moment when Buonaparté was setting out on his invasion of Russia. We were putting forth all our resources in the last grand struggle for European Liberty, and Mr. Maddison then takes up arms against us.—Does any one doubt that his hopes were to assist Buonaparté and to conquer Canada? He thought it a fit time to attempt the ruin of our naval and commercial preponderance, and he went to war. His calculations failed him, his ally is ruined, and he is forced to abandon his malignant designs against us. But do not let us forget that he would have executed them if he could to their fullest extent. And now we ask whether, in demanding the ampleſt indemnity, we shall not be strictly justified? A man attempts our life, and fame, and fortune, and, because he fails, he is to expect generosity and forbearance from us! Why what a driveling doctrine! Let us insist upon full indemnity—let us interdict them from the Newfoundland fisheries. As to Louisiana, that is the business of Spain, in which we should support her. Let us insist upon their recantation of their new-fangled law by which they would debauch our subjects from their allegiance and let us demand their adoption of the Laws of Nations as recognised by Europe. This is what we have a right to demand. This is not vengeance, but justice! Any thing short of this will neither satisfy the demands of a wise policy, nor the expectation of the British Empire. *(Courier, May 19th.*

CORN.

The following is a copy of the Resolutions moved in the Committee of the House of Commons on the Corn Laws:—

1. That it is expedient, that the exportation of corn grain, meal, malt and flour, from any part of the United Kingdom, should be permitted at all times, with

out the payment of any duty, and without receiving any bounty whatever.

2. That it is expedient, that the several duties, now payable in respect of all corn, grain, meal, and flour, imported into the United Kingdom, should cease and determine; and that the several duties in the following schedule shall be paid in lieu thereof:—

	Wheat.	Rye, Beans, and Peas	Barley, Beer or Bigg.	Oats.
When imported from the Province of Quebec, or the other British Colonies or Plantations in North America	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.	s. d.
If under - per Qr. - - -	74	50	37	24
High duty - do. - - -	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
If at or above do. - - -	24 3	24 3	24 3	24 3
but under do. - - -	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
1st Low Duty - - -	74	50	37	24
If at or above do. - - -	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
2d Low Duty - - - -	77	52	39	25
	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6
	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
	77	52	39	25
	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 6
When imported from any other Foreign Country:	84	56	42	28
If under - per Qr. - -	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
High Duty - - - -	24 3	24 3	24 3	24 3
If at or above do.	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
but under - - - -	84	56	42	28
1st Low Duty - - -	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
If at or above do. - -	87	58	44	29
2d Low Duty - - -	2 6	2 6	2 6	2 6
	0 0	0 0	0 0	0 0
	87	58	44	29
	0 6	0 6	0 6	0 6

N B. The remainder of the Schedule to be formed according to the principle of the Schedule of Act of 44 Geo. III. c. 100.

3. That it is expedient, That the Duty on the Importation of Corn and Grain, into any part of the United Kingdom, should be regulated by the aggregate Price of Corn and Grain in the whole of the twelve Maritime Districts of England and Wales, the four Maritime Districts of Scotland, and the four Maritime Districts of Ireland.

The amendment moved by Mr. Huskisson on the 2d resolution was, in substance, that 63s. a quarter should be the price at which Corn should be allowed to be imported, on paying the duty of 24s. 3d; and that as the Corn rose in price, the Duty should diminish in exact proportion, so that whenever Corn might rise to 86s. a quarter, the duty should cease and determine. To this amendment Sir H. Parnell, in the hope of obtaining a unanimous decision, agreed.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—MAY 17TH.

CORN LAWS.

A Petition against the proposed change in the Corn Laws was presented by Sir M. W. RIDLEY, and ordered to lie on the table.

On the motion of Mr, FOSTER for the recommittal of the Report respecting the Corn Laws,

Sir J. NEWPORT expressed his conviction that the most convincing arguments had been adduced to shew that it was the policy of this country to guard its home agriculture by providing against the free import of foreign corn. If it were asked, whether it was necessary to alter the arrangements of 1804, or provide any additional guard for our agriculture as that agriculture had since increased, he should answer that this increase was not owing to those arrangements, but to the peculiar nature of our relations with foreign states. Besides, it was now impossible to put the agriculturists in the same state they were in 1804. as so many additional burthens had been since imposed upon them, and would it then be fair to expose them to competition in their own market with foreign agriculturists, after having incurred those very burthens—after becoming subject to such a weight of taxation for the deliverance of Europe, for the advantage of Foreign States, in order to relieve them from the calamities of war? Such a proposition would, indeed, be utterly destitute of common justice, as to allow a foreigner armed with the security which Great Britain had purchased for him by twenty years war, to undersell the British trader in his own market. In fact, the principles of a free trade could not be fairly applied to the question of corn, especially after those principles had been departed from with regard to our other manufactures. Our woollen manufacture, for instance, was protected against the competition of any foreigner whatever in our own market, and why should not our corn meet an equal protection. It was alleged that the proposed arrangement would serve to impose a permanent tax upon the consumer; but he denied the justice of this allegation. If however, it were even true, he should have no hesitation to assert, that it would be for the interest of the consumer to pay that tax in order to secure the advantages of that steady supply, and independency of any foreign state, which the measure promised. As to the argument, that the tendency of this measure would be to throw capital unnaturally into agriculture, he thought it quite untenable, as the only probable result would be to recover for agriculture, which formed the most solid wealth of a nation, that capital which had been heretofore diverted from it by undue partiality to manufactures. But the advantages which the proposed arrangement held out to Ireland were incalculable. In that country, the interest of which was completely identified with that of Great Britain, not above one-fourth of the people were employed in manufactures, the remainder being wholly dependent on agriculture or pasturage, and there agriculture has of late years made very considerable advance; insomuch, indeed, that it had exported a vast quantity of corn to this part of the empire. Would it then be fair or wise to impede the prosperity of that country? But if such impediment were really offered, what must be the state of things between the two countries? Ireland at present took the manufactures of England, and paid for their corn. It indeed prohibited any manufacturer from entering into competition with that of England in the Irish market. Its duties, with a view to that prohibition were, upon woollen, as 5s to 1s. in favour of England—upon hardware as 33 to 10—upon glass as 83 to 10, and so on in proportion upon earthenware and other articles of English manufacture. Would it then be an equitable return towards Ireland to withhold due encouragement from that agriculture which enabled it to pay for such articles—which enabled it, especially of late years, to become the best customer of England? In fact, if that encouragement were refused, he could not conceive how the Irish people were to pay these absentee rents, which formed so severe a drain upon that country. These absentee rents, however, were spent in England, which thus profited, in every point of view, by the improving industry of Ireland. To the interest of that country he therefore trusted that the House would look with peculiar solicitude, and nothing could contribute so materially to that interest as the encouragement of agriculture, to which the Irish were peculiarly disposed, and which was so much more calculated than pasturage, or perhaps even manufactures, to promote morality, industry, and good order.

Mr. BURRELL supported the Resolutions, and observed, that if corn were as low in price, as some Gentlemen appeared to wish, the consequence would be ruinous, not only to agriculture, but to manufactures, because the demand for the latter must be so much reduced.

Sir H. PARNELL rose, and in a speech of some length, vindicated the Report of the Committee, from the inaccuracies charged upon it by a Right Honourable Gentleman in his speech or pamphlet, for he knew not by which name to characterize it. The Right Honourable Gentleman himself, in undertaking to expose what he considered as the errors of that Report, had, himself, fallen into a variety of mistakes. At the very outset, he charged him (Sir Henry Parcell) with being the only one who had suggested the first Resolution; but what had occurred since utterly disproved that assertion. In fact, there were many things in the pamphlet which the Right Honourable Gentleman had not uttered in his speech. In comparing the Eton prices of wheat, a wrong principle had been assumed in the pamphlet. The Eton market was supplied with the best wheat, and in reducing the Eton measure to the statute measure, it was necessary to deduct two-ninths, instead of which the Right Honourable Gentleman had deducted only one-ninth. In another part of the pamphlet it was said that the Committee had very superficially examined the various statutes connected with the Corn Trade, having mentioned only seven: if the Right Hon. Gentleman had read the Report a little more attentively, however, he would find that fourteen were mentioned. All the Acts, indeed, that had any present relation to the subject, were examined by the Committee. It was stated by the Committee that this had been an importing country since 1764; but the Right Hon. Gentleman affirmed, that the statement was contrary to the fact, inferring, of course, that it had been an exporting country during that period. But he could not disprove the Report.

Sir M. WOOD here rose to order, and observed, that if the Honourable Baronet went on attacking the pamphlet, they would have an hour's reply from the Right Honourable Gentleman in defence of it *(a laugh)*. Besides, it was taking the House unfairly, as many Members had come down expecting the Amendment of an Hon. Member to be proposed.

Sir H. PARNELL continued, by observing, that the statements of the Right Hon. Gentleman were absolutely erroneous, and that he had failed, in every instance, in fixing any inaccuracy upon the labours of the Committee, and contended that no Committee had ever taken more pains to produce a well-digested and correct Report.

Mr. ROSE defended his former statements, and said, that as to his calculation from the Eton prices, he did not follow the authority of pamphlets; but wrote to his friend the Provost of Eton, and had received a certificate from the register, that the Eton prices were not for the best corn but for middling corn. He still charged the Committee with having deliberately stated that the price rose progressively from the repeal of the Act of Ch. II. in 1773, whereas in fact, it had not risen from that time till the year 1794, when it was about the same price as in 1774, being then 47s.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER recommended that they should immediately go into the Committee instead of occupying the time of the House any further by discussing what was already decided.

The House then went into Committee.

Mr. FOSTER rose and observed, that the object of the corn laws had ever been to Protect the agriculturalist by shutting out importation, except at a very high duty; and also to prevent an overflow in the market, by allowing a bounty for exportation, when corn was reduced to a certain price. These salutary laws began to fail in their operation about the year 1767, and it was the object of the present measure to bring them back to their original usefulness. There could not be a more proper time for undertaking any revision on this subject when the nation was at peace, having neither external nor internal danger to apprehend. In the course of the last 55 years no less than 53 separate laws had been enacted, a circumstance which strongly proved that some great defect had crept into the system. One of these acts, however, the act of 1806, he must except, as worthy of much better company. It had opened an intercourse between Ireland and England for the common good of each. Ireland which before could not export one quarter, was now able to send large supplies to the English market; for the new law operated at once as a prohibition on importation, and as the strongest stimulus to the Irish agriculturist to put forth all his vigour and skill. Now, could it be supposed that if the legislature should speak a similar language to the English farmer, that the results would not be the same? in other words, that he would not feel himself encouraged to the greatest exertions, if he were told that the 16 millions usually sent to foreign countries should be kept at home for the purpose of improving the science and products of agriculture? *(Hear!)* He could not approve of the graduated scale, as it seemed to him founded on a great error; it fixed the price for importation on the grower instead of the importer. The consequence of which was, that when corn was at 80 shillings the importer could bring in his corn, which he would be able to sell at 69 shillings, and thus would undersell the English farmer, creating to him a loss of eleven shillings. Thus in fact, the regulation would operate as a duty on the farmer, and an encouragement to the importer, which was contrary to all the principles on which the corn laws were established. In ascertaining the price, which was now taken from the twelve maritime counties of England, he thought it would be right to include Ireland, which now bore so large a share in the corn market. He had but one other topic to advert to, which was to allude to the prohibition on importing flour; it had been found most beneficial, and should be attended to.—He then moved an amendment, the substance of which was, that the duty on importing wheat should not cease till wheat was 100 shillings a quarter; or beans peas and rye, till they were at the rate of 66s. on barley at 58s.; on oats at 33s. except from Quebec.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER considered the proposition of the Honourable Gentleman as so novel and alarming, that rather than agree to it, he would wish the whole matter to be postponed till next session. He had never heard of any law which had imposed a duty on these articles amounting to an absolute prohibition. He was more inclined to adopt the graduated scale of his Honourable friend because among its opponents both in and out of Parliament, there were many who thought it too high as well as persons who thought it too low. But even if this were adopted by Parliament, he should wish the adoption to be only temporary, to give an opportunity of ascertaining its effects for two or three years. Economy had been much recommended as the means of remedying the absence of foreign supply; but in time of scarcity it would be too much to expect that people would stand still to wait the effect of such a system, instead of accepting the produce which foreign countries offered to them. The public had a great moral lesson to learn, and must be prepared to see large quantities of its corn exported, even when it was high, and must trust to the faith of Parliament that no injury was intended. The observation on the prohibition of flour he thought totally irrelevant; and he certainly felt best disposed towards the scale of his Honourable friend, which seemed the best method of preventing the evils of a sudden change; less likely to create dangerous speculation than the plan of the Honourable Gentleman, and the most probable scheme for reconciling the feelings of the country to the alteration in the corn system. The Right Honourable Gentleman said, he thought the resolutions contained all the regulations on corn the country could afford, and furnish a stepping-stone which would prevent any violent transition from one price to another of an opposite extreme.

Mr. J. P. GRANT thought that no proposition could be more plain than this, that the commercial, agricultural, and manufacturing interests of the country were inseparable; and that all of them, as far as the object could be accomplished, ought to be put on an equal footing. The Right Honourable Gentleman (the Chancellor of the Exchequer) treated this question as if it were one on which the House and the country had no experience. He seemed to regard it as if we were in a new situation, one in which we were called on to legislate on a speculative ground; and as if the present was entirely a new case. He (Mr. Grant) entertained great respect for the opinions and authorities of his Honourable Friends on the other side, but still he must be excused for saying, that he felt much more attached to the evidence of experience; and, if he found that a system had been acted on with success for half a century; when that system was departed from, that contrary effects were produced; when he saw the former system again acted on, and again the same consequences produced; whether these effects necessarily followed from the systems or not he could not resist the conviction that there must be a connection between these opposite systems and their effects. He could not help saying, when he saw one system produce happy effects, and another system produce consequences exactly the contrary, that he must regard this as something more than the mere effect of chance. He could not help thinking that Gentlemen were bound to shew him, in such a state of things that there were other reasons which might have produced and had produced those effects. To judge of the force of this observation he should take the averages of certain considerable periods at the different times he had alluded to, and should see what effect the two contradictory systems had, at those various periods, produced on the price of grain. We had no returns of the price of grain prior to the year 1605, when the first return of the price of grain was made. He should state it without making any deduction. The average of the first 11 years was 2l 1s 6d. From the year 1620 to 1625 the average price was 2l. 2s 3d. 3-5ths. During the next ten years the average price was 2l. 10s. 5d. being one-sixth more; and, during the following ten years, the average price was 2l. 17s. 3d. being about one-seventh more; or during the operation of the system pursued in the reigns of Queen Elizabeth and King James, a rise of about 16s. Then the system was reversed, and a great rise took place in the price of grain; but about the year 1700 the old system was again restored, and between that period and the year 1765, a fall of more than one-fourth took place below the average, which had existed before this old system was again called into operation. So that notwithstanding the lapse of 160 years, and notwithstanding the great depreciation of money within that period, the monied price of corn was then exactly the same it had been 160 years before. Then, once more, after those laws were again abolished, the average price of corn rose within the first twenty years to 5l. 1s.; 9d. but deducting for the depreciation of money to 3l. 16s. being one half as much again as the average of the former twenty years. So he (Mr. Grant) was entitled to conclude, from what had passed before during the period of, and since those systems had been acted upon, that those effects to which he had alluded were the necessary consequences of those opposite systems which had at different periods prevailed. By the one of those systems our exports increased, and by the other our exports were entirely done away, and the importation of corn increased in a proportionate degree. The variations in this respect were inexplicable in any other way than as being considered the effects of this change of system. Why our manufactures should increase and prosper while our agriculture was going backward or vice versa, could only be accounted for on this principle, that equal advantages were not held out to both. No person could be a more sincere friend than he (Mr. Grant) was to a free trade, but at the same time he thought that a free trade should be extended equally to all the objects of industry. To the graduated scale proposed by the Honourable Gentleman (Mr. Huskisson), he (Mr. Grant) had a strong objection, because it did not fix any precise rule, nor point out to the farmer any distinct point to which he could look for the regulation of his conduct.

It was a great error to suppose that the value of land was raised by an increase of the price of corn, It was raised by the increase of the profit of the farmer, and depended not on the increase of the price of corn, but on the increase of the demand for it. It was so in manufactures. The muslin gown worn at present, from its cheapness, by a woman of the inferior classes, was one which a lady of rank, in the days of our grandmothers, could scarcely have afforded to purchase. Yet, was the muslin manufacturer of the present day poorer than the muslin manufacturer of former days? No. Because, although the price of his manufacture had so considerably diminished, yet the demand for it had more than proportionably increased. His profits, like those of the farmers, depended on the quantity which he could produce, and that again depended on the capital which he was able to employ. It was another error to say that the price of labour depended on the price of corn. America, and the Netherlands, as contrasted with Holland, afforded sufficient refutations of this assertion. The price of labour, like the price of every thing else, depended on the demand for it. It times of scarcity labour was cheaper than the average price; and in time of plenty dearer. Because in times of scarcity the labourer was compelled to work more, and in times of plenty he was induced to work less, than his average allowance. If the committee would refer to the inquiry made by the House of Lords in 1812, into the existing distresses of the manufacturing districts, they would find it established by evidence, that those distresses arose, not from the price of corn, but from the want of employment. He was anxious to satisfy the committee that the question before them had nothing to do with the enjoyments of the people, even if the effect of the regulation were to raise the average price of corn, which he was satisfied it would not be. There were two great objects which the Legislature ought to have in contemplation on this subject; the first, to keep corn at as steady a price as possible; the second, to supply some fund for occasional deficiencies. He was firmly persuaded that this country could depend on itself for its supply, and it ought to do so. What hazard could result from making it do so? A free exportation had been already enacted. If to this were added such a demand in the home market as would induce the farmer to cultivate more industriously, in the hope of a fair profit, that desirable object would be attained. Although he was disposed to go further than the proposed Resolution—although he would willingly return to those laws, from the period of abandonment of which the decay of the country had commenced, and give a bounty on the exportation of corn—yet even the adoption of this limited measure he was convinced would render us an exporting country, without being which, we could never sufficiently guard against a recurrence of the evils which we had endured, from the enormous variations that had of late years occurred in the price of grain. On all these grounds, he should give his most cordial support to the proposition of the Right Hon. Gentleman.

Mr. FRANKLAND LEWIS expressed his complete and unshaken conviction, that if the

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subject were left to itself, the country would be placed entirely out of danger with respect to it. It was strange that, although it was generally admitted in theory, that all legislative interference in matters of food and commerce was pernicious, yet this maxim seemed invariably to be laid aside, as something too good for practice. The Committee ought to follow the example of Mr. Pitt, who did all he could to set the trade of the country free from restrictions, and that with a view not only to relieve our own commercial system, but to introduce the same liberal spirit into the commercial system of other nations. One great tendency of this enlightened policy was to secure the blessings of peace, as it was well known in history that nothing had more effectually fomented war than those petty jealousies and quarrels which had arisen from the commercial regulations of different States. Unless the agricultural interest should show a sound reason for departing from this principle (which he contended they had not hitherto done), it ought to be tenaciously adhered to. As it was, it was proved by an official document, that at the present moment grain could not be imported from the Baltic at a lower rate than 78s.; and that without including the profit of the merchant. With that addition, grain so imported could not be sold in the English market under 84 or 85 shillings. Did not this fact afford an absolute proof that the agricultural interest was in no danger? Had not the farmer all the protection by it which he could hope or desire? As to the large importations which of late years had at various periods taken place, he was persuaded that the agricultural interest had materially benefited by them; for, by sustaining the enormous growth of our manufactures and population they had eventually raised our agricultural system to the astonishing perfection to which it had arrived. At intervals, during this period of increase, the country had experienced a scarcity amounting almost to famine, and therefore had not the increasing manufacturing population been maintained, and nursed and cherished, and fostered by the very importation which was now complained of, it would not at present be in existence. In his opinion a steady price was more likely to prevail with a free trade than with a restricted importation; for the only rational hope of remedying a local inconvenience was by having recourse to a wider surface of the world. The argument, that Parliament must continue to legislate on the subject, because it had already legislated so much, was absurd. What was the object of all the legislative provisions that had from time to time been made? To remedy the evils occasioned by previous legislative provisions on the same subject. What had been the object of the Act of 1663? To destroy two obnoxious preceding Acts. What had been the objects of the 51 Acts that had since passed? Did not each of them in succession proclaim the failure and imperfection of its predecessor? He must oppose the Resolution.

Mr. WELLESLEY LONG supported the proposition made by his Right Honourable Friend, convinced as he was that the agriculture of the country was brought to such a state of perfection, as would, at least, easily enable us to supply our own consumption of grain.

Mr. ROSE contended, in opposition to the arguments of an Honourable Gentleman opposite, that the high price of bread was of material importance to the labourer, and that either he must seriously suffer, or that it must be made up to him by an increase of wages. Adverting to former regulations, he shewed that it had uniformly proved injurious to fix the price of corn by parliamentary enactment. In 1791 it had been raised 6s. a quarter; in 1814 it had been raised 12s. The rise now proposed was 40s. a quarter; and he would venture to assert, that if the Committee adopted the Resolution, 106s. a quarter would very shortly be the minimum.

Mr. HUSKISSON argued at considerable length, to prove that it would not be easy to make this an exporting country by reverting to the system of our ancestors. The increased population of the country had he believed, compelled our agriculturists to cultivate land that our ancestors would have rejected. It had been truly said by a Right Honourable Gentleman, that the protecting price would not be the price at which corn would be sold in the home market. Experience and the evidence of the case proved this. If last year the price at which importation was to be prohibited had been fixed at 95s.; could it be seriously thought by any one that corn would be now selling at 95s.? Was not the present price the consequence of our own abundant supply? He by no means wished that corn should be dear. He wished it to be cheap, provided that cheapness was the result of the capital and the industry of this country. He disclaimed having said that 87s. ought to be the lowest price; and he preferred a graduated scale to a fixed prohibition, as it would afford greater facilities for keeping down the price, if it should become too high. Nothing could be more simple or intelligible than the application of this scale. The foreign importer would know that every shilling that corn rose or fell would operate to the extent of two shillings on the importation. A much more complicated scale was applied to the importation of sugar, but no difficulty arose from that circumstance. Nor would there be any difficulty in the application of the graduated scale to Ireland; although, as it was not likely that there would be much importation in that country, a lower average might perhaps be taken for it. He perfectly coincided in the suggestion of his Right Honourable Friend the Chancellor of the Exchequer, to leave the subject open to revision at no very distant period, impossible as it was to foresee the various circumstances and changes which might occur, operative upon it. By the present provision, however, the ensuing alarm would be allayed—not among the landholders, for he was persuaded that they had no greedy or grasping expectations—but among the occupiers of land, who had a claim on the justice of Parliament to protect their interests from deterioration. He hoped, therefore, that the Committee would adopt the graduated scale, as it would do enough, and not do more than was necessary.

Mr. D. GIDDY approved of the proposition of his Right Hon. Friend (Mr. Foster) in preference to the graduated scale; but thought 5l. too high a price to fix. If he were called upon to name a sum, he should say 84s

Mr. FOSTER expressed his readiness, provided the principle of his proposition were acceded to by the Committee, to fill up the blank with 84s. or with any other sum that in their judgment would be expedient. With their leave he would withdraw his Resolution for the purpose of making that alteration in it.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER observed, that his Hon. Friend need not do that until the Committee had determined whether or not to adopt the graduated scale proposed by his Honourable Friend.—That was the question upon which they were now called upon to decide, and for one he should pronounce an unequivocal affirmative.

Lord MILTON agreed with the Right Hon. Gentleman opposite (Mr. Foster) in his objection to a graduated scale.

Mr. CANNING thought the graduated scale was the least objectionable measure, doing least; for he had considerable doubts whether it was necessary or proper to do any thing but what had been done, namely, the allowing the free exportation of grain. But as he did not think proper to erect his judgement against the Committee, he should agree to the graduated scale, not precluding himself, on any future stage, from examining it, if he should think proper. He hoped, however, that no legislative measure would be adopted on any Resolution which was not unanimously adopted, without a due time being allowed to make it known to the country. Whatever measure was adopted, he hoped would be merely temporary.

Mr. VANSITTART said, he intended to propose, that whatever measures was adopted should be temporary, and that he should not attempt to carry any measure quickly into a law which was not unanimously received.

Mr. WESTERN expressed his disapprobation of the graduated scale, on the ground that it would afford no sure protection to the farmer.

Sir J. NEWPORT said he should support the graduated scale, not as the best measure possible, but the best which it was probable would be carried.

After a few words from Messrs. HUSKISSON, FOSTER, H. THORNTON, the House divided—

For Mr. Foster's Amendment 60
Against it. 83

The Report was ordered to be received this day.

After some conversation on the Clause regulating the duties on oats and flour, the House resumed, when the other orders were disposed of, and the House adjourned at half-past two.

HOUSE OF COMMONS.—OCTOBER 18TH.

CORN LAWS.

Mr. GORDON brought up the Report of the 2d Resolution of the Report of the Committee on the Corn Laws.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER moved, that the House should adopt the Resolution.

Mr. CALCRAFT said, it would be necessary for him to make a great deal more inquiry into this subject, before, in the present circumstances of the country, he could come to any determination upon it. He considered the proposition as totally inapplicable to this country. It was as much the interest of landowners that there should be an abundant supply of corn, at a moderate rate to the people, as it was the interest of the people themselves. He allowed that it was necessary rents should rise in proportion to the expence of living; but if other things fell he saw no reason why rents ought not to fall also, when land was let too high. In Ireland and Scotland, where land was let a great deal too high, nothing but the adoption of a proposition like that now before the House could keep them from falling. He merely took this opportunity of saying a few words, that he might not be pledged to any system, unless he saw his way much clearer than he did at present.

Mr. Alderman ATKINS said, the Hon. Baronet knew very well that the principle of the Report obtained his approbation in the Committee; but the Report had been so altered from what he thought to be the understanding of the Committee, that he could not agree to it without farther inquiry. It was his opinion that the sum to be fixed by them ought not to go beyond 80s.; and it was his intention therefore to propose, as an amendment to the Resolution, to begin with a duty of 20s. when the price was 60s.; 15s. when the price was 65s. and so on, the duty regularly decreasing in the same proportion, till the price came to 80s. when it should cease. Till he saw that the agriculture of the country could not go on without a measure like the present, he was unwilling to consent to a prohibition of the importation of grain.

Mr. POLE CAREW had no doubt of the ability of this country to maintain its own inhabitants, when he considered the extent of land still uncultivated. In his opinion, the leading features of the Report were incontrovertible.

Mr. BANKES thought that another Committee ought immediately to be appointed. A great deal of matter had fallen from several Gentlemen in the course of last night, which was well deserving of consideration. A great deal of accounts were still wanted; and they ought also to have the oral testimony of those persons who were best acquainted with the state of the Corn Trade in this country. They were ignorant of the state of the import trade at this moment; and they ought to have the accounts brought up to the latest time, that is, from January to April. He conceived that it would be best to have a Select Committee appointed. By the employment of due diligence, in the course of a fortnight the Committee might actually be enabled to lay before the House much valuable matter, without which it would neither be honourable for themselves nor safe for the country, to proceed further in the present subject.

Mr. THOMPSON said, the present discussion must have removed many misapprehensions on the subject. He merely wished to say a few words in favour of the growers of corn, who had a great claim on the indulgence of the House. All he wished was, that the farmer should have a reasonable profit after the payment of rent and taxes, but this would be impossible, if foreigners were allowed an unrestrained competition with him in the home market. While the trade in every other commodity was restricted, it would be unsafe for that in corn to be free.

General GASCOIGNE thought the House ought to have all possible information on the subject now before them. Within these few days great speculations in corn had been made, on the certainty that if this measure should be adopted, a great rise would take place in the price of that commodity. But whatever ultimately might be the decision of the House, it would be satisfactory to the people to know that every inquiry had been previously gone into.

Mr. HUSKISSON rose merely with a view to notice the observation which had fallen from the Honourable Gentleman who spoke last, respecting the speculations of corn. It was quite impossible, in his opinion, for any person not to perceive that from the supply of grain at present in this country, there was no probability of any rise in price before harvest. This was one reason for his wishing to proceed with the subject at present. There were many persons in the House desirous of defeating the measure; and at the present advanced period of the Session he should despair of any Report of a Committee being laid before the House in any reasonable time to admit of subsequent discussion; and thus agreeing to a Select Committee would be the same thing as putting off the measure altogether to another Session.

General GASCOIGNE explained.

The question was then put, and the House adopted the Resolution without a division.

The CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER moved for leave to bring in a Bill in conformity to the Resolution. He understood, that he was supposed to have said last night, that it would be better to put off the measure till another Session. What he had said, was that he would rather consent to the postponement of the measure till next Session, than agree to the amendment of an Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Foster.)

In answer to a question of Lord MILTON, the CHANCELLOR of the EXCHEQUER said, that he was undetermined whether he should propose three or five years, for the period of the Bill. Three years he thought the shortest term which could enable the country to experience the effects of the measure.

Leave was then given to bring in the Bill.

Mr. BANKES moved for an Account of the quantity of Corn, Meal, and Flour imported into Great Britain from foreign ports, from January to April last; also of the quantity imported from Ireland during the same period; also an account of the quantity of foreign corn exported from Great Britain during the same period; & of the quantity warehoused in London, and the other warehouse ports.

Sir H. PARNELL suggested the propriety of obtaining an account of the exports from Ireland to foreign parts, which was also ordered.

Mr. BANKES then gave notice, that he should on Friday move for a Select Committee on the subject of the Corn Trade.

EXTRACTS TAKEN FROM A PAMPHLET ENTITLED "HISTORICAL SKETCHES OF POLITICS AND PUBLIC MEN FOR THE YEAR 1813."

(Continued from our last.)

THE CATHOLIC QUESTION.

No session of parliament had ever presented such favourable prospects to the Catholic cause, as that which met at the commencement of the present year. Ministry, for the reasons, and in the manner, which we explained in our former volume, had agreed to throw this out of the circle of ministerial measures, & to leave it to the unbiassed decision of parliament. The opinion of the King was now entirely out of the question. The Prince had evidently no objection to the measure of emancipation, and his former sentiments rather afforded a presumption, that he would be in its favour. A great proportion of the nation, however, was still deeply imbued with the dread and horror of popery; and the granting of the proposed privileges appeared to them to be breaking down important barriers, by which the constitution and church were defended. They were supported by a number in the higher ranks, not indeed statesmen of the first order, yet highly respectable men, zealous for the established church, and struck with that dread of innovation, which is habitual to every aristocratical body. As then the critical period drew near, considerable movements took place among the adherents of this opinion. An association was formed, which assumed the title of the "Protestant Association," the object of which was, to resist all further concession to the Catholics. This body, besides containing a number of distinguished members, derived considerable lustre from the name of Granville Sharpe, the venerable advocate of liberty and humanity. Addresses, promoted by these leading men poured in, in considerable numbers. Most of this zeal was no doubt sincere and conscientious; yet was it somewhat whetted by the belief that ministers, though not officially interfering, still regarded with secret complacency every effort made against Catholic concession. Parliament met however, and there did not appear any ground for this apprehension. Lord Castlereagh, the minister who took the lead in the House of Commons & who seemed better entitled than any other to the appellation of the Premier, openly declared his concurrence with those who argued for concession, combined with security. The same opinion was avowed by a large proportion of the cabinet. Meantime, it was most zealously promoted by all the opposition, as well as by that middle party, of which Lord Wellington and Mr. Canning were the leaders. There appeared, therefore, every prospect of its being carried triumphantly through the house. The first results corresponded with this expectation. On the 25th February, Mr. Grattan moved that the house should form itself into a committee, to frame a bill for the relief of the Catholics. Long debates took place in which, however, on a subject so often discussed, there could be little novelty. The motion, after two adjournments, was carried by a pretty considerable majority, 264 to 224. A committee was now appointed to arrange and determine the different clauses which were to be introduced into the act. Mr. Grattan, who still took the lead, opened the proceedings with a general view of the various provisions of which it was intended that this legislative measure should consist. The Catholics were to be admitted to sit in both houses of parliament, and to hold all offices, military and civil, except those connected with the Great Seal, that of Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and the presentation to any living in the Church, in an university, or public school. The oaths, which the law now requires to be taken previous to such appointments, were to be dispensed with; and instead of them a new oath was to be taken, presenting, it was hoped, nothing from which a loyal catholic could revolt. It contained an engagement to do nothing which could be injurious to the British constitution or the established church; and a disavowal of certain imputed doctrines of the Romish belief, which appeared inconsistent with the duties of society. Roman-catholic clergymen were to take an oath that they would not recommend, sanction, or concur in the appointment or consecration of any bishop, of whose loyalty they were not well informed. The functions of bishop were to be conferred only upon a natural born subject, who had been resident in the kingdom five years immediately previous to consecration. Mr. Canning proposed some other provisions, which were chiefly, that no Roman-catholic bishop should be hereafter appointed without a certificate of loyalty from five English or Irish catholic peers appointed by the crown. All bulls or briefs received from Rome were to be submitted to the examination of commissioners, consisting of the same catholic peers, two Roman-catholic archbishops, the Lord Chancellor, & one of the secretaries of state. To these propositions it was understood, that Mr. Grattan and his friends gave their consent.

All had hitherto proceeded in a prosperous train; and the belief became general, that the bill would be carried through with little opposition. Its fate, however, was very different. In going over the different clauses, the committee came to that, by which Catholic members were to be admitted to sit in both houses of parliament. On this occasion, Mr. Abbot, the Speaker, who was now exempted from his usual obligation of *not* speaking, made a long and elaborate harangue. He declared his willingness, that the professors of this religion should be admitted to offices in the army and navy; that the soldier should be protected in the exercise of his worship; but he deprecated their admission into parliament, where an able and eloquent leader might acquire the most dangerous ascendency. He warned the house against opening the flood-gates of innovation, which might not be easily closed; and he referred to circumstances which gave reason to believe, that even these ample concessions would give no satisfaction, on account of the conditions with which they were clogged. This animated speech, from a person seldom accustomed to open his lips, made a strong impression on the house; his opponents were taken by surprise, and had not, perhaps fully mustered their strength: in short, the clause was rejected, though by the majority only of 251 against 247. Had the bill been one merely of concession, it might have been the part of its promoters, though one important provision had been lost, still to exert themselves in carrying through the rest. But the case was otherwise. Concessions were demanded on one side, as well as granted on the other; and the promoters of the bill considered themselves as having adjusted with precision these opposite claims. The balance then was destroyed, when an important article was taken from one side of the account. It could no longer be expected, that the Catholics should submit to the same restrictions, when the same privileges where not granted in return. It appeared more expedient to withdraw the bill, with the view of bringing it forward in the subsequent session, when better fortune, it was hoped, might attend it.

This result was doubtless greatly aided by some other occurrences which threatened to have a much more fatal influence than even the vote itself, upon the final success of the measure. The bill, being founded upon certain securities to be given by the Roman Catholics, was manifestly nugatory, unless they agreed to give those securities. It might even have been supposed, that their consent had been obtained, before the bill was brought into parliament. On the contrary, no sooner were its provisions made known on the other side of the Channel, than they became the object of utter disgust and reprobation. The Catholic body immediately assembled, and expressed these feelings in the most decided and unqualified manner. In vain did Mr. Grattan insist, that the report of its proceedings was misrepresented, and even forged; that there existed in Ireland no spirit inimical to the bill. Every new arrival brought new proofs of its prevalence. In addition to the aggregate meeting, an assembly of bishops was held, which spoke the same sentiments in a manner still less measured. Language seemed unequal to express the dismay and consternation with which it filled them. The result of Mr. Abbot's motion was celebrated in Ireland as a jubilee. The most bitter enemy to the object of the bill did not feel any exultation at its failure, to be compared to that, which was excited in the breasts of those, for whose relief and benefit it was *solely* intended.

We are ready to admit, that the extreme violence of this rejection proceeded partly from a factious spirit and partly from peculiar circumstances to be hereafter noticed, in the character of the bodies from which it emanated. At the same time it seems impossible to deny the most egregious mismanagement on the part of those by whom the bill was drawn up and digested. As the whole was founded upon *certain* conditions to which the Catholics were to agree, it was plainly indispensable, before any legislative proceedings took place, to ascertain whether these conditions would meet their acceptance. We cannot discover the smallest difficulty or impropriety in so doing. The Catholics were but too well organised into corporate bodies. At all events, Mr. Grattan knew, or ought to have known, the persons who held the chief sway in their deliberations, whose opinion would almost inevitably

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be followed by that of the rest. We can perceive no irregularity in holding communication with them as individuals, in stating to them the different clauses which were to be introduced into the bill, and receiving their sentiments, as to whether these were compatible with the constitution or doctrine of the Catholic church. These communications might have been committed to writing; and had the Catholic leaders then attempted, from any motive, to retract or deny their consent, Mr. Grattan would have been able to produce full proof of its having once been given. On the contrary, when drawn to extremity, he had nothing to bring forward besides some vague expressions, which he alledged the Primate, Dr. Troy, to have used, but which Dr. Troy himself positively denied. Had Mr. Grattan taken the course now suggested, and followed it with prudence and address, it appears to us not quite impossible, that the consent of the Catholics might have been obtained, to the very provisions, against which their clamour was now so violent. But to make his arrangements without consulting or noticing any of these leading persons, Dr. Troy alone excepted, was, according to the known laws of human nature, to render them decided and irreconcileable enemies. We must particularly remark, that Mr. Grattan, in the course of the debate, evinced the most gross ignorance with regard to the state of the Catholic mind in Ireland. At the moment when their enmity to the measure was avowed and obvious to the whole nation, he continued to declare, that his letters still announced, on their part, the most entire cordiality and concurrence. It is plain that these were from mere personal and political friends, and from men determined, like himself, to believe nothing except what they wished.

From these observations on the manner in which the clauses were drawn up, we proceed to make some remarks on the nature and value of the securities which they contained. The first consisted of the oaths and declarations which were to be substituted in the room of those taken by Protestants, previous to their admission to any office. It is no doubt quite proper and becoming that such oaths should be taken. But those, we apprehend, manifested great ignorance of human nature, who placed any high reliance upon their efficacy, or who made the terms of them liable to become a ground of dissension. We do not mean to say that public men in general take such oaths with any actual intention of breaking them. But we firmly believe, that very few indeed consider them much otherwise, than as a part of their ceremonial of introduction to office; that their terms and import are seldom deeply pondered; and that when a temptation occurs to violate public duty, the recollection of these engagements is not usually that which deters from it. Should conscience at any time take the alarm, a very slight and sophistical comment would be sufficient, we suspect, to lull it to sleep in the mind of a statesman. All the men, by whom public trusts have been violated, have begun their career by taking oaths to maintain them. If loyalty, honour, prudence oppose no obstacle, to substitute oaths and declarations in their places is to bind men with ropes of sand. All therefore which we should conceive to be necessary or advantageous would be an oath, such as no loyal subject could think of declining; an engagement to observe his duty to the sovereign and to the state, and to do nothing which could injure the established Protestant church. The declaration, on the contrary, went into a great variety of particulars, and formed a species of confession of Catholic faith. Certainly before any such were drawn up, the heads of that church in Ireland ought to have been carefully consulted. We cannot pretend to be profoundly versant in the articles of this belief. But there were two, the renunciation of which, here demanded, struck us with surprize. These are, the infallibility of the Pope, and the advantage of absolution considered in itself, and independent of accompanying repentance. We have no partiality whatever for the doctrines, the falsehood of which we firmly believe; but will the sentiments of the Catholics be the same? Some of the most enlightened members of that church may have pronounced this opinion; but is it general? It does not follow, because such doctrines have become obsolete, because they are no longer enforced or insisted upon, that therefore the church is ready to make a formal renunciation of them. All the insensible changes which time and circumstances work on the human mind, take place secretly and actually, long before they are openly avowed. If the Catholics were willing to renounce these opinions we have not certainly the smallest objection. But these were clauses, which we should not have dreamt of introducing, without having previously secured the full and general consent of the Catholic body; far less without ever having enquired or consulted them at all. There is another clause, as to the propriety of which we have some doubts. The Catholics are made to renounce the doctrines, that no faith is to be kept with heretics, and that the Pope has the power of dispensing with the obligation of an oath. We see no advantage that can arise from these clauses. If Catholics have a right to violate any engagement with heretics, they may violate equally the renunciation here made of such a right. If the Pope can dispense with all declarations, he may dispense also with the denial of his dispensing power. Our reliance upon the efficacy of these oaths must depend upon the sentiments and habits which are known to prevail among the votaries of this faith, not upon any such formal protestation. It may be said indeed, that these clauses at least do no injury. But we have understood, that the Catholics not only deny the maintenance of such opinions, but that they consider the imputation of them as an insult. If so they may think it a hardship, that it should be thus embodied in a solemn and permanent document.

The next class of securities is that formed by restraints upon the election of the Catholic clergy. As this seems to be the main point of difference, it deserves to be seriously considered. We entirely agree with the framers of the bill, as to the extreme importance of rendering this clergy well affected towards government. Every plan however, for accomplishing that object by restriction, labours under a radical disadvantage. In proportion as the enactments are rigorous, and consequently effectual for the exclusion of disloyal candidates, they must be felt as irksome and galling by the clergy and the people in general. They inevitably lose on one side, as they gain on the other; and there may be some reason to doubt, on which the balance will preponderate. We question if restraints on so tender a point would not press closer and harder on the great mass of the population, than the want of those privilege which are to be given in return.

It may be proper to notice some of the particular provisions. Clergymen were to take an oath not to be in any manner concerned in the appointment of a bishop of whose loyalty they were not well informed. This stipulation afforded some security, and does not seem liable to much objection. But it was added, that no person should be named to that office, who was not a native, or who had not resided in the country for five successive years. We can conceive cases, in which these two stipulations, particularly the last, might be felt as a considerable hardship. The means of home instruction are slender, and government have even lately diminished the allowance formerly made for it. The grand seminaries of Catholic instruction must therefore be beyond the seas, and thither, those who wish to distinguish themselves, will naturally resort. It seems a severe arrangement, by which this zeal for improvement is made to exclude them, at least for a considerable time, from the honours of their church. As to Mr. Canning's plan, it would doubtless be effectual; but we see little prospect of its ever being consented to. It is only a mitigated form of the *Veto*, which is here exercised, not directly by the government, but by persons of its appointment.

Upon the whole, from a view of the provisions and fortune of the bill, we are confirmed in our former opinion, that every attempt to bind a whole people by what are called securities, must be vain and chimerical. The expedients for this purpose must either resolve themselves into empty forms, or their operation must tend to cherish that discontent, the extinction of which is the grand object of the measure. The danger to the constitution would be increased, when power was given, unaccompanied by that conciliation which was to render it safe. If it is judged, that all the Catholic demands cannot be granted, it were better perhaps to grant some of them only, unclogged by any conditions which would destroy their conciliatory effect. The Catholics would probably accept more gratefully a part only in the shape of a free gift, than the whole in that of a harddriven bargain. Events indeed have shewn, that there exists on this side of the Channel a numerous body who, even if all the conditions were agreed to, would hesitate to grant all the privileges demanded. This calls us to consider another part of the subject.

The point on which the bill failed, was that of the admission of Catholic members to parliament. This issue we are surprised to observe is conformable to the sentiments of the nation in general. It is currently said, that there is little danger in admitting Catholics to hold, with a few exceptions, all offices of power and trust; but that their admission to sit in the two houses of parliament, would be attended with the most imminent danger. We have never found any good argument upon which to rest the conclusion, nor any indeed which did not lead us to adopt the very reverse. All the dangers which exist from Catholic privilege, appear to us to lie in that branch which regards admission to office. A person who holds any situation of trust and power, has always a certain sphere of influence, a measure of patronage, the means of affecting the comfort and well-being of a certain number of individuals. For flagrant violations of duty he may be rendered responsible; but there will still remain a circle, within which he is at liberty to indulge his tastes and predilections. These it may be supposed will incline him, *cæteris paribus*, to favour and promote those who are of the same persuasion with himself. A motive will thus be afforded to embrace or to continue in that persuasion. This may even afford a reason for not placing the Catholics at the head of any department, or giving them quite uncontrouled or independent power. In other cases, the evil, though real, is not so great as the discontent and public loss sustained by the exclusion from office of so large a portion of the community. But no such inevitable measure of evil appears to arise from the admission into parliament of a small body of Catholic members. Ireland returns one hundred to the House of Commons. Supposing then that the Catholics were to contribute in the full proportion of their numbers, there still would not be above eighty. But the greater part of Irish property is in the hands of Protestants; and all over the empire, but more particularly in Ireland, representation chiefly depends upon property. It appears improbable therefore that there would be above sixty Catholic members returned; not quite a tenth of the whole number of which the house is now composed. The measures taken by such a body in favour of their own religion would be mere incipient efforts; they could never form themselves into any determinate and efficient acts. They would possess indeed a certain influence by their votes and speeches; but there is no likelihood of their being able to carry, against the immense majority opposed to them any measure dangerous to the Protestant establishment. The greater part of them in fact would, it is probable, be moderate and prudent men, of large fortune, and consequently attached to the existing order of things.

While this admission to parliament then is attended with no serious danger, the benefits to be expected from it are of the first importance.

It is evident that the Catholics will on no account rest satisfied without some public assembly to which their members will be admitted. The attempt to form a regular representation was indeed baffled by a system of combined prudence and vigour on the part of the administration. But there still remains the aggregate Meeting, more constitutional indeed in its form, but the composition and proceedings of which are by no means favourable to public order, or the repose of the empire. This turbulent congregation, however, must still be viewed by the Irish nation in general as their national assembly, the theatre of their oratory, and the guide of their political sentiments. A spirit is thus nourished, not only of general discontent and turbulence, but peculiarly tending towards independence and seperation from England. We see no possible remedy, unless by the transference of their highest political characters to the British senate. To its proceedings; and to the efforts there made in their behalf, the eye of the Catholic Irish would then be directed. They would find within it at once the theatre of their ambition, and the guardians of their rights. The Aggregate Meeting would either be broken up, or containing only characters of an inferior class, would sink into a comparative insignificance. There appears besides no method so effectual of cementing together the mind of the two nations. The mere habit of viewing the parliament met at London, as the theatre on which the talents and eloquence of their great men were to be displayed, would insensibly give an English cast to their train of ideas. They would learn to view their island as a constituent part of the empire, not as an appendage loosely and forcibly attached to it.

We cannot now forbear touching upon another point, although it does not seem to be in the mind of any one else who takes an interest in the subject. We allude to the propriety of making some moderate pecuniary provision for the Catholic clergy. Every one seems sensible how very important it is, that this body, who possess such influence over the mind of their flocks, should be at least not hostile to the British government. This has been deeply considered in the formation of the Catholic bill, the most important clauses of which are framed with the view of securing their loyalty. We have endeavoured to shew these provisions are not only feeble, but that the good effects which they tend to produce will be necessarily counteracted, and perhaps more than counteracted, by the discontent which they must excite in the clergy and people. It is always with an ill-grace, that a government can interfere in the election of a clergy, for whose support it makes no legal provision. But if the priests received a salary from government, nothing could be more reasonable than to require some security as to the loyalty of those on whom it was bestowed; and if the proceedings were not too rigid, they would not probably excite any murmuring. It is, we are convinced, by these silver chains alone, that the Catholic clergy can be securely attached to the British government. Such a boon too, instead of extending the empire of this religion, would, we are persuaded, tend to check that extension. Scarcely any man will become a Protestant, merely to save the expence of providing a priest to administer his own religion. The temptation to apostatize from such a motive, will probably rouse his pride to adhere more firmly to that, which otherwise he might have carelessly quitted. The clergy again, whose income depends upon the number of their people, are unavoidably compelled to perpetual activity, to gain proselytes; to court popularity by every possible method. The fact accordingly has been, that amid various disqualifications under which they have laboured, the Catholics of Ireland have continued, and still continue to increase; a progress which it will perhaps be difficult to stop, unless by the quietus of a legislative allowance.

It is said, we believe with truth, that the Catholics do not ask any provision of this nature. But this, if the measure were otherwise expedient, we should rather consider as an additional advantage. The object being to conciliate the Catholics, it would be much better accomplished by a spontaneous boon, than by one extorted as hitherto by threats and clamour. It has been said also that such a boon would not be accepted. This we greatly doubt, provided the trial were fairly made. At all events, the offer could not fail to have some considerable effect in silencing their murmurs, and rendering them more favourably disposed to the British government.

We are sorry not to be able to conclude without some remarks on the aspect and proceedings of the Catholic Board, or Aggregate Meeting, which has succeeded to the representative body, whose meetings were suppressed by the judicious interference of government. It is certainly a more regular and constitutional assembly. Yet have its transactions not always been very conducive to its own credit, or the peace of the nation. They have too much resembled those of the most tumultuous popular corporations on this side of the Channel. A first principle seems clearly to be, that it is a Board formed for Catholic purposes, and that with these alone its attention ought to be occupied. On the contrary, we find it regularly deliberating and publishing its opinion on all subjects of domestic and foreign policy. It went even so far as to vote an address to the Princess of Wales, on occasion of her acquittal, an event not connected with Catholic interests, by any tie that seems possible to imagine. Nor, in confining its proceeding to these interests, has it by any means secured unqualified approbation. We allude particularly to the project of calling in to their aid the interference of the Spanish Cortes. This most culpable proposition has fortunately indeed not been carried into effect; but the reception and entertainment which it experienced, redound little to the honour of the Catholic Board.

We do not know whether it be from a view of these proceedings, that Mr. Grattan has been induced to decline communicating with this Board in the formation of the bill which he intends next session to propose to the house. It appears to us, however, necessary, that ample communication should take place, if not with this body, at least with all the leading Catholics, civil and ecclesiastical. It is said, that they are not to be allowed to dictate to parliament. Yet even although the bill should be entirely framed by Catholics, they could not be said to dictate, when parliament retained still the full power of rejection. At all events, the bill having its basis on certain conditions to be observed by the Catholic, their acceptance of these conditions seems a preliminary quite indispensable. It is vain and ridiculous for parliament to spend meeting after meeting in framing long provisions, which are to be spurned at by the persons, for whose relief they are intended. If the Catholics will not consent to a bill such as Mr. Grattan choses, it can serve no purpose to introduce any bill. The passing of such an one could only add a new source of dissension to the many by which Ireland is already rent. It would only be repeating anew the same error, which rendered the bill of last session abortive.

In alluding to the persons who ought to be consulted, we have given a different alternative from the Catholic Board. One great reason is, that we much fear this body will be disposed to raise some obstacles against a final accommodation. We argue much less from itself and its own measures, (although these have been such as we noticed above) than from the experience of history, which proves, that every body of men will seek to extend their power as far, and preserve it as long, as circumstances will possibly permit. Now, this Board being formed for the purpose of obtaining privileges for those of the same persuasion, will lose the ground on which it stands, whenever these privileges are fully conferred. Its existence, perhaps, certainly its importance, will from that moment cease. We do not believe, indeed, that the majority of its members will avow this to themselves as a motive for action. But the secret consciousness of it will magnify in their eyes every difficulty which presents itself to a final arrangement. The higher members might be more tractable separately; yet this would still leave room for a hostile party in the rest of the Board. The difficulty is real and great; and it is much easier to point out the existence of it, than the remedy. It appears to us important, however, that it should be kept in view by statesmen and the legislature; and there may, we trust, be those who possess information and address sufficient to remove this obstacle to the tranquillity of the sister kingdom.

POETRY.

THE GENTLE FLOWER.

I

When Summer skies are past, and gone
The early sun, and lengthen'd day;
Then home again my steps shall turn,
And blithely to the south away.
For though the rose may then be fled,
The daisy wither'd on the lea;
There blows, when all these flowers are dead,
A fairer flower than all for me.

II

By yonder distant streamlet blows,
A gentle, wee, and modest flower;
There's none so fair or sweet that grows
By any stream, in any bower.
The dew that sparkled on its stem,
When last I saw it drooping down,
Was lovelier than a monarch's gem,
Was richer than a monarch's crown.

III

For oh! that flower, that gentle flower,
Is she that's dearest to my heart;
And on it's stem that dewy shower,
The tears she shed when forc'd to part.
I would not waste its sweets, or tear
Its blossoms from the mourning spray;
But I would fondly linger near,
And woo my lovely flower away.

THE ANNIVERSARY.

TEQUM, UTINAM, LONGÆ SOCIAREM TEMPORA VITÆ,
INQUE TUO CADERET NOSTRA SENECTA SINU!

I

Oh! sacred is this hour to me,
And holy this returning day,
When first I saw the bonny e[illegible]
Of Her I love so far away!
The summer gale was passing by,
And meekly rose the star of e'en,
When first I heard the half-press'd sigh,
Which stole her timid lips between.

II

That star again has shed its light
On yonder high and western brae,
Though I have never heard this night
Of Her I love so far away!
And yet, in all his course, the sun
But few who bloom so fair can see;
I know he cannot visit one,
Though fairer far, so dear to me!

III

How weary 'tis to watch his ray
Slow rising from the purpled sea,
And sigh to think another day
But lights a desart world to me!
How sad to waste life's sweetest prime
Still sickening for deferred joy,
To speed the lingering flight of Time,
And all the present hours destroy!

IV

Too soon some fleeting years will tear
The blossoms from this youthful tree?
Nip all the bloom which here I bear,
And I a wither'd trunk shall be.
But ere the pride of Spring is fled,
Were yon protectless ivy mine,
How pleas'd my willing boughs would spread,
How fond her circling arms entwine!

V

While yet the summer sun was high,
Her love would yield me borrow'd grace;
And I, beneath the wintry sky,
Would court more fondly her embrace:
And when the last o'erwhelming shower
This torn and leafless stem shall beat,
Her tears would make life's closing hour
Than all in life itself more sweet!

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